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of the traditional non-kin social organizations had an economic motivation.

In rural areas, organizations such as the Red Spear Society (Hung-ch'iang Hui) and the Mutual Protection Society (Lien-ya Hui) existed for the protection of the inhabitants against roving bandits. These voluntary associations arose in areas where the government failed to maintain order and peace, and their organization cut across class and occupational lines. When landlords were forced to move into towns during periods of disorder, peasants and tenants would become so powerful that at times they defied the landlords' demand for exorbitant rents.

Among the artisans and workers in China there were for generations both craft builds (hongs) and regional guilds (pongs). As in Europe, these guilds were not intended to serve the interests of workers as a class, but to promote the crafts and guard their monopoly and secrets. Both employers and employees were members, but the employers usually dominated the guilds' activities.[5]

Another kind of association existed to serve travelers, who were usually merchants, in

5. Nym Wales, The Chinese Labor Movement, New York, The John Day Co., 1945, p. 7.

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cities outside their home county or province. 484
These associations t'ung-hsiang hui, organized on a county or provincial basis, facilitated by maintaining buildings and personnel in distant cities the dealings of their constituents who might have language or other types of difficulties.

Most significant and disturbing to the 575
social structure were the secret societies. They were, in fact, hierarchical societies within a society. A notable example was the Ko-lao Hui, which was called Hung-pang in the Central-South Region. The bulk of the membership of this secret society was drawn from the unemployed in the rural areas and organized under strict and severe discipline. They were instructed to rob the rich, to help the poor, rescue the oppressed, and overthrow Manchu rule. Its leadership, however, was in the hands of the landlord class. The Ko-lao Hui became such a strong underworld force that Sun Yat-sen had to solicit its co-operation in his efforts to overthrow the Manchu dynasty. After the fall of the Manchu regime, many warlords of North China obtained power by way of the Ko-lao Hui hierarchy and by utilizing its mass followings.[6]

6. Ko-lao Hui and Ch'ing-pang, Hsi-pei Yen-chiu she, 1941, pp. 5-6.

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While societies like the Ko-lao Hui aimed at the overthrow of the existing order, others like the Ch'ing-pang were utilized by the Manchu government to prolong its power by extralegal means. The Ch'ing-pang was originally organized among the boatsmen and the urban unemployed along the Grand Canal and the Yangtze River. It later spread to big cities and gained recruits among the city poor, handicraftsmen, apprentices, industrial workers, policemen, shopkeepers, self-employed, and even civil servants. Its highly organized strength provided a strong bargaining position for the support of politicians, warlords as well as capitalists. Even the Kuomintang leaders had to come to terms with the society in their campaign against the warlords, and the Japanese occupation forces during 1937-45 utilized Ch'ing-pang organizations to rout Communist underground agents.[7]

II. DISRUPTION OF THE TRADITIONAL SOCIAL STRUCTURE

Just as the scholar ideal and the family ideal helped to preserve the stability of the

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7. Ibid., pp. 64-65.

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Kaifeng, Changsha, and Canton, life in some respects has been greatly altered by the modernization that has spread from the coastal to the inland cities. The streets are paved, and schools, newspapers, movies, and radio make the people more aware of the outside world than their cousins in the towns and villages. In the cities, major industries built large dormitories for workers, labor unions and political clubs developed as new foci for social activity. Yet the living conditions grew worse as workers moved into the cities. Crowding reached unbelievable proportions. The only comparable figures are for Chengtu, a city outside the Central-South area, but they suggest the dimensions of this problem in all urban centers. Chengtu, with predominantly one-storied buildings, had a population density of 50,000 per square mile as compared with 22,500 per square mile in New York City.[8] One survey suggests that workers in the newer industries were somewhat better off than workers in the traditional trades,[9] but their traditional holidays were shortened without, in most cases, the introduction of a six-day week. In the crowded cities the festivals of the agricultural year continued to determine the holidays, and (although national holidays were increasingly observed), like the town dwellers, city dwellers tried to return to their families villages for at least one of the holidays. Another link to one's native place was the system of clubs composed of those city-dwellers who had a common provincial

8. Winfield, op. cit., p. 88. These figures would seem to be for the period 1945-47.

9. Lang, op. cit., pp. 88-89.

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origin; the clubs operated hostels and sometimes arrangements for mutual aid. Secret societies provided another focus of social life, particularly in the towns and cities. Their rituals, passports, and secret signs of greeting were all subordinate to their basic aim, which was to provide members with security-through-association, with an insurance against the hazards of a disintegrating and increasingly predatory society. 369 575

It will be noted that the ties of kinship and custom were strong even between the large modern cities and the farm villages. The ways of life tended increasingly to diverge, yet one of the strongest cohesive forces of all was the common set of attitudes and values which, even when change has been accounted for, held together all Chinese of village and town and city. 369

D. The Influence of Communism

In discussing Communist efforts to alter the Chinese way of life, it should be stressed that our material is unsatisfactory. Statistics, declarations, news releases give few realistic details of life in the villages under Communist domination, and most refugees from Communist China have come from the citie 668

First of all, the farmer's annual routine is basically unchanged. Pilot collectives are in operation, but these are few and have no immediate bearing on the farmer's work year. The most striking change in the farmer's life is the new network of associations which the government has imposed upon him and the daily barrage of advice and exhortation to which he is subjected. No longer does he cultivate his land in the manner of his ancestors with the assistance of his family, his clan, and his neighbors. He no longer

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we find exhortations to stay away from local witch doctors and, when ill, to consult a physician. And women are warned not to believe in prayer to the images of some divinity, "for these are only of mud and lacquer."[28] At all levels of education and in the annual cycles of "campaigns," such as the Patriotic Hygiene Movement, and the Resist-America-Aid-Korea Movement, reference is made to the false and debilitating character of the old beliefs, which are held to be "feudal," "unscientific," "reactionary," etc. It is doubtful that the remnants of folk religion -- in recent years the resort only of the aged and the ignorant -- will long survive the campaigns being waged against them.

Another Taoist-linked institution is the secret society, which has played a major role in modern Chinese politics. Most secret societies draw their rituals, liturgies, and patron deities from religious and folk Taoism, but their purpose is not in most cases primarily religious; rather, as is noted in the chapter on customs and characteristic ways of life, they provide various kinds of insurance in times of chaos, and their tightly knit memberships in recent times have often influenced both local and national politics. The Communists have been conducting an all-out drive for the liquidation of secret societies. At the end of a major drive in 1953, P'eng Chen reported that "four million duped members had withdrawn from these reactionary sects and societies and that the battle was essentially won."[29] That

28. Fu-nü San-Tzu Ching [Three-Character Classic For Women], Shanghai, Hsin-hua, 1950, passim.

29. NCNA dispatch of Sept. 18, 1953, quoted in Walker, China Under Communism, p. 189.

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P'eng Chen's claims of victory were premature is suggested by a recent report of the breaking up of five secret society organizations in the vicinity of Kalgan. The report credited the societies with elaborate clandestine organizations, hidden headquarters, an elaborate hierarchy of leadership, and the ability to infiltrate Communist organizations.[30] (The societies' power of resistance are dealt with in the chapter on Subversive Potentialities.)

Secret societies have been particularly numerous in North China, but those which have had some following in parts of the Central-South Region might be mentioned here:

1. Hung-chiang hui, the Society of Redspears, an offshoot of Pai-lien chiao, the White Lotus Society. Once powerful in the north, since 1924 it has been active in Hupeh, Hunan, and Kiangsi.[31]

2. Tsai-li hui, Principle Abiding Society. Its strength was in the north, mainly in the cities, but it also had followers in Honan. Social composition: mostly artisans and laborers, some farmers and merchants, a few intellectuals.[32]

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30. NCNA, June 16, 1955. SCMP, 1078, June 28, 1955, pp. 27-28.

31. Chan, op. cit., pp. 258-9; Encyclopedia of Chinese Problems, p. 480.

32. Chan, op. cit., pp. 156-57.

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3. San-tien, San-ho, T'ien-ti or T'ien-li, the Triad Society. It originated in Fukien and spread to Kwangtung and Kwangsi. Strong among overseas Chinese. Known in the United States as Chih-kung Tong.[33] 575

4. Ko-lao-hui, the Society of the Elders, also an offshoot of the White Lotus Society, is somewhat more religious than the others; the "most extensive, well organized, and influential of China's secret societies."[34] Centers of strength were Central, North, and West China.

IV. MOHAMMEDANISM

This religion was introduced into China by immigrants arriving overland from the west and northwest and by sea to Canton; they have since spread until there are some in every province, although the highest concentration is in the northwest and southwest. Since their ancestors were immigrants, the Mohammedans have been treated by Chinese governments as both an ethnic minority and a religious group. (Hence, cf. the chapter on Ethnic Minorities.). Adherents have tended to live in separate communities, their mores and customs governed by religious law rather than by the laws and customs of China. Not only did Islam prescribe 779

33. Chan, op. cit., pp. 259-60.
34. Ibid., pp. 160-61.

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duction was successfully concluded about October 1950, and that approximately 206,500,000 catties (227,150,000 lbs.) of rice had been refunded to poor tenant farmers. Peasants' associations, with a total membership of 4,141,466, were organized in 15,175 hsiang throughout the province. One-fourth of the members were women. As a result of the organization of the peasants' associations, the power of government passed into the hands of Communist officials in 5,190 hsiang, although in the remaining 9,985 hsiang the change was only a partial one.[12]

Since the Chinese Communists well knew that popular support was necessary for a strong government, they had the wisdom to establish the Peasants' Association, which in a certain way worked as an informal representatives' conference before the regime was able to establish a formal one in each hsiang or county.

Wang Shou-tao, chairman of Hunan Province, mentioned in his report of June 1950[13] that there were 14,830 hsiang in the province, and that Peasants' Associations had been formed in 19,564 hsiang, with a total membership of 5,730,000. Chin Ming, chairman of the Land Reform Committee of Hunan, reported in October 1950 that, because there were 28,000,000 people in the two municipalities and 77 counties of Hunan, it would be necessary to limit land reform to 33 counties with a total population of 17,000,000. He expected that within a year or two the work of land reform could be completed.

12. Li Hsien-nien, "Hu-pei-sheng Jen-min Cheng-fu I-nien-lai Shih-cheng Pao-kao Yü Chin-hou Jen-wu ["Report on Last Year's Administration and Future Tasks of the Hupeh People's Government"], Ibid., p. 862.

13. [following page] .

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reform could be completed.

Hunan Province, rich in agricultural products, is also rich in mining and industry. Twenty-one industries and mines owned by the provincial government and 281 privately owned factories and mines were "rehabilitated" after a period of inoperation during the southward march of the Communist army.[15] In Hunan, Tungting Lake was utilized to prevent floods and to aid in irrigation.

Kiangsi Province lies along the southern bank of the Yangtze River, east of Hupeh. Ch'en Cheng-jen, secretary of the Kiangsi branch of the Communist Party, reported in August 1950 that, in 83.6 per cent of the hsiang in Kiangsi, 113,860 peasants' associations were formed,[16] and that the membership had reached 1,300,000.

There are 99 counties and three municipal-

13. Wang Shou-tao, "Hu-nan-sheng Jen-min Cheng-fu Kung-tso Pao-kao" ["Report on the Administration of the Hunan People's Government], Ibid., p. 891.

14. Chin Ming, "Wei Cheng-chü Sheng-li Shih-hsien Ching-tung Ming-ch'un T'u-ti Kai-ko Erh Fen-tou" ["Struggle for the Successful Realization of Land Reform during this Winter and Next Spring"], Ibid., p. 907.

15. Wang Shou-tao, "Hu-nan-sheng Jen-min Cheng-fu I-nien-lai Kung-tso Tung-chieh Yü Chin-hou Kung-tso Jen-wu" ["Summary of the Last Year's Administration and of Future Tasks for the Hunan People's Government], Ibid., p. 896.

16. Ch'en Cheng-jen, "Kuan-yü Chiang-hsi-sheng T'u-ti Kai-ko Wen-t'i Ti Pao-kao" [Reon Land Reform in Kiangsi Province], Ibid., p. 853.

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Kwangsi Province, like Kwangtung, lies near the Pearl River. It was for many years under the separate rule of Li Tsung-jen and Pai Ch'ung-hsi, both of whom were strongly opposed to Communism. Long before the Communists came into power, Li and Pai warned the people of Kwangsi against the threat of Communism, and as a result the Communists found it most difficult to win the support of the people. Li Ch'u-li, a member of the Kwangsi Provincial Government, mentioned in a report in October 1950 that the membership in the peasants' associations was only 1,340,000, the second smallest membership in the Central-South China Region.[19]

IV. THE REPRESENTATIVES' CONFERENCE

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The Representatives' Conference was utilized by the Communists in the period 1950-53 as a preparation for the People's Congress, which had not yet been established. Chairman Wu Chih-p'u gave a report on the representatives' conferences held in the counties, municipalities, and Peasants' Associations of Honan, listing the number of conferences held and the membership involved.

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19. Li Ch'u-li "San-nien-nei Shih-hsien Kuang-hsi-sheng Ti T'u-ti Kai-ko Shih Kuang-hsi-sheng Jen-min Ti Kuang-yung Jen-wu" ["To Complete Land Reform in Kwangsi within Three Years is the Proud Task of the Kwangsi People"], Ibid., p. 967.

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Representatives' Conferences */

Location	No. of Members	No. of Conferences
Counties.....	31,472	141
Ten Municipalities.	5,430	44
County Peasants' Associations....	213,750	1,130
Hsiang Peasants' Associations...	466,587	9,254
Total.....	717,239	10,569

*/ Wu Chih-p'u, "Ho-nan-sheng Jen-min Cheng-fu I-nien-lai Shih-cheng Kung-tso Pao-kao" ["Report on the Administration of Honan People's Government during the Past Year"], Cheng-fu Kung-tso Pao-kao Hui-pien, 1950, [Compendium of Government Reports, 1950], Peking Jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1951, pp. 835-36.

The Chinese Communists believe that required participation in conferences gives the people an understanding of the operation of the Communist form of "democratic" government.

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The Wang Shou-tao, chairman of Hunan, also gave an account of the practice of holding the Representatives' Conferences in Hunan Province. In 9,564 hsiang out of a total of 14,830 peasants' associations were formed with a total membership

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of 4,600,000. The peasants' associations were expected to send delegates to the Representatives' Conferences held at the county and municipality levels. Wang mentioned that in 67 counties and municipalities at least one representatives' conference was held, and in some cases as many as four conferences were held in the period from June to October 1950. These conferences, Wang claimed, influenced the work of the county governments. In the hsiang, the peasants' association was used as a substitute for the representatives' conference, and members were permitted to elect the officials of the hsiang executive branch.

This eagerness to bring the people together for conferences was shown by Wang Shou-tao[20] and also by Cheng Shao-wen, Minister of Civil Affairs, who reported to the Military and Political Committee of Central-South China on democratic reconstruction work in November 1952. They seemed to believe that there was a correlation between the number of conferences and the political progress made by the Communist regime in that particular area. Cheng Shao-wen gave the following figures concerning the representatives' conferences held in each county and all provinces from 1950 to July 1952.

Province	Average No. of Conferences
Honan	7.99
Hunan	5.85
Hupeh	6.68
Kiangsi	7.54
Kwangsi	5.00
Kwangtung	4.95

20. W ng Shou-tao, op. cit., p. 898.

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activists to make certain that it is carried out.

2. Federation of Democratic Women

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On October 27, 1951, Ch'ien Ying, then Chairman of the Federation of the Democratic Women of the Central-South China region, declared that the federation's membership had reached twenty-one million, or almost one-third of all the women of the region.[50] The federation's importance in this region, however, is not based merely on numerical supremacy. The position of women in society is such that they not only constitute an important part of the labor force, but their influence extends throughout the entire population. The Communists correctly regard the federation as a major political force and are most eager to see that women's organizations are formed.

At the village level, the federation is the most active part of the rural movement. The wide participation of women in the Peasants' Association should be particularly noted. The provincial Federation of Democratic Women of Hupeh alone mobilized 12 million women during the Land Reform Movement, almost 40 per cent of the total membership of the peasant's associations in the provinces.[51] The Federation plays a political role in all the farm drives and gives full support to the hsiang governments and party apparatus. Since the completion of land reform, women have begun to take an active part in the

50. Yangtze Daily, Oct. 28, 1951, p. 1.
51. Ibid., Dec. 3, 1950, p. 4; July 13, 1951, p. 3.

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producers' co-operatives. In May 1954, the All-China Federation of Democratic Women held its first Rural Work Meeting and called upon all women on the farms of China to join the movement.[52] The activities of rural women are not limited to the land. In Kiangsi alone, for example, more than 50,000 women belong to the militia.[53]

In the cities, women are important to the urban inhabitants' committees and the worker's family committees, both Party devices for urban control. Apart from participation in all drives in the cities -- notably the "democratic reform" movement and Three-Anti and Five-Anti campaigns -- the Federation of Democratic Women also co-operates with the Department of Women Workers of the trade unions. The federation also urges all women, including housewives, to participate in social work.

Party control over women's federations follows the same pattern as that for other mass organizations. The Party as well as the New Democratic Youth Corps maintains a commission on women's affairs. The commission has the power of direction and policy-making. However, the work of the commission is subject to the supervision of other basic departments such as the departments of organization, propaganda,

52. People's Handbook, 1955, pp. 386-87.
53. Yangtze Daily, July 13, 1951, p. 3.

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and rural work, and so forth. Party personnel are placed in key positions in the federations. 668 575

3. Other Mass Organizations

A number of mass organizations which have a strong influence on society are represented in this region. The All-China Federation of Democratic Youth[54] maintains branches in all key cities and counties in a province. The Central-South branch of the All-China Federation of Literature and Art Circles was established[55] in November 1951. The most elaborately organized group is the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association, established in 1949. By July 1952, it claimed a membership of 6,676,776, with 7,681 branches in the counties and towns of the region.[56] Party control over these mass organizations follows the usual pattern.

C. POLITICAL CONTROL IN THE RURAL AREAS

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The rural movement is the foundation of Communist political power in Central-South China. Here lies the strength and the weakness of the region and of the Party; here the pattern of political dynamics is most revealing and Communist power encounters the greatest opposition.

54. Regulations governing ACFDY in People's Daily, June 17, 1953, p. 1.
55. Yangtze Daily, Nov. 19, 1951, p. 1.
56. Ibid., July 10, 1952, p. 1.

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the political aim of the movement is to be placed above any economic aim.

Land reform is divided into three stages: preparation, execution, and re-examination. The preparatory stage is aimed at the liquidation of the existing holders of political power. The execution stage includes confiscation and redistribution of land in order to destroy the basis of the landlord class. During the re-examination stage, the foundation of new political power is laid.

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During the land reform period, political power in the rural area[58] rested upon: (1) the Party, (2) the Peasants' Association, (3) the hsiang government, (4) the militia, and (5) other mass organizations, notably the women's federations and youth organizations. Of these, the Peasant's Association and the militia, organized as instruments of terror, were of particular importance.

The chief task of the Peasant's Association was to incite people to action and to provide a receptive group which could be controlled by a small number of Party members. Poor peasants, farm laborers, and middle-class peasants constituted one-third of the membership; but the peasant's associations were

58. For reference, consult Kung-fei Ju-ho K'ung-chih Nung-ts'un Yü Ch'eng-shih [How the Communists Control Villages and Cities], Taipeh, 1954; also, Nung-ts'un Kung-ch'an-tang-yüan K'o-pen [Textbook for Rural Party Workers], Canton, Hua-nan, 1951.

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organized only after the Party had established control over such earlier peasants' organizations as the Poor Peasants' Corps, Peasants' Mass Meeting, and Peasants' Representatives Conference. Further, although plenary meetings were held, the true power of the association lay with the executive committee, which was under Party control.

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The militia, an armed force at the disposal of the Party, is an organization of poor peasants, farm laborers, and young people. As of December 1950, the strength of the militia in the Central-South China region was placed at 1,480,000 men.[59] In Hupeh, a membership of 220,000 was reported in September 1950. Prior to May 1950, the militia structure was complex and unwieldy. It was reorganized in May 1950 and more thoroughly, in 1952.[60] According to a January 1952 directive of the Central-South China Military and Political Committee,[61] each village was to have a platoon, each ch'ü forms a company. Its size is in no sense comparable to its military counterpart. Operationally, area commands at all levels can employ the local militia. The People's council, with the approval of the military command

59. Yangtze Daily, Dec. 15, 1950, p. 1; in Hupeh alone, a reported 220,000 men in Sept. 1950; ibid., Sept. 23, 1950, p. 2.

60. Ibid., March 31, 1951, p. 3; for the employment of militia prior to the Party's assumption of power, see ibid., Aug. 24, 1953, p. 3.

61. Ibid., Jan. 5, 1952, p. 1; for a study of militia, see Li Tang, Militia of Communist China, Hong Kong, Union Research Institute, 1954.

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D. Secret Societies, Gangsters, and Vagrants

Secret societies in China are generally characterized by their resistance to social changes dictated by a central authority. Their different origins and motives of organization notwithstanding, the above-mentioned common characteristic alone is enough to place all secret societies in China under Communist attack.

In Central-South China, the Communists made use of the land reform in an attempt to destroy secret socieities in the rural areas. In the cities, the Communists instituted a "democratic reform" in April 1951 to dislodge groups and cliques in control of labor organizations. The "democratic reform" was carried out in consonance with three slogans issued in succession by the Communists. The first slogan -- anti-feudalism -- called for a violent, frontal attack on existing secret societies and obsolete labor union leadership (labeled as "bossism"). The second slogan urged "democratic unity" among the rank and file in labor organizations. The third slogan emphasized the theme of "democratic management," which meant that Communist-dominated labor unions were to be organized to replace the old ones.[21]

Measures employed by the Communists during the Democratic Construction Movement were similar to those used in the movement to suppress counterrevolutionaries. A large-scale propaganda drive was launched to arouse public feeling and was

21. Yangtze Daily, July 21, 1951, p. 1. For provincial report on this movement, see article on Kwangtung in ibid., November 26, 1951, p. 2; also on Hupeh, ibid., April 25, 1951, p. 5; and Kwangsi, ibid., November 28, 1951, p. 2.

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followed by many types of mass meetings. As labor unions were disbanded, their leaders were accused of abusing laborers. As to secret societies, many of their leaders were put to death. Some active members of such societies managed to escape death, but not constant police surveillance; others were sent to forced labor camps.

Two types of secret societies were included in the target of Communist attack. One type consisted of relatively small groups centered around a few individuals. These bore the brunt of the Communist assault at the beginning of the campaign. Samples of this type of society were found in the First Textile Factory and the T'ien-ho Mining Company in the city of Wuhan.[22] These groups were known under such names as "Thirty-six Friends," "Seventy-two Hsiao," "108 Fighters," "Eighteen Lo-han," "Ch'ing Pang," "Hung Pang," "Hsiung-ti Hui," and "Tzu-mei Hui." Secret societies of this type were formed mainly on the basis of personal relationships and had little or no religious observances.

The other type of secret society found in Central-South China included the I Kuan Tao, Sheng Hsien Tao, T'ien Men Tao, and Ta Tao Hui. The word tao shared by the first three organizations implies a religious veneer. While all four groups are wide-spread, the I Kuan Tao has become the central target of Communist fire because of its large scope of operation.[23] Started originally in North China,

22. Yangtze Daily, July 26, 1951, p. 1.

23. Shih-shih Shou-ts'e [Current Affairs Handbook], No. 4, December 1950, pp. 77-81; No. 6, January 1951, pp. 38-43.

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this secret society spreads gradually to other regions of China. In 1954, the Wuhan, Huang-p'i, Hsiao-kan, P;u-ch'i, and Hsien-ning areas in Hupeh Province were the centers of I Kuan Tao activities.[24] Among the conditions of existence advocated by this group are "anticipation of world disaster," and "avoidance of action." Although this doctrine seems to be no more than passive resistance to Communist indoctrination, the society has been accused of having aided the Japanese during World War II and presently working for the Kuomintang against the Communist regime. The exact strength of these secret socieities is not known, but it is understandable that in view of the Communist violence, the theme of passive resistance as advocated by the I Kuan Tao must have a great appeal to the troubled populace in Central-South China.

Vagrants, habitual thieves, and gangsters are also slated for elimination by the Communist regime because they contribute to unrest and are therefore potential counterrevolutionaries. No specific statistics have bee compiled by the Communists on these "dregs of society," but reports on the "Reform-through-labor" program have indications as to the approximate strength of these groups. (See chapter on Forced Labor.) In announcing their success in dealing with the undesirable elements, the Communists have indluced arson and sabotage among the crimes committed by these undesirable groups.

II. CORRUPTION AND OTHER ACTIVITIES DETRIMENTAL TO THE REGIME

As early as 1950, the Communists in China were

24. Shih Ch'eng-chih, loc. cit.